

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 BUCAR 03500 01 OF 02 231906Z

45

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W

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P 231703Z JUL 75

FM AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3753

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BUCHAREST 3500

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, RO

SUBJ: PRESIDENT FORD'S VISIT: THEMES AND TALKING POINTS
FOR MEETING WITH CEAUSESCU

1. THIS IS THE FIRST OF TWO MAJOR MESSAGES REGARDING THEMES AND PURPOSES OF THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT. IN IT WE SUGGEST BOTH POINTS WE BELIEVE IT IN US INTEREST TO RAISE AND ONES WE EXPECT CEAUSESCU TO COVER. MANY OF THE QUESTIONS WILL ALREADY HAVE BEEN ANTICIPATED IN WASHINGTON SO OUR PURPOSE IS TO PROVIDE BOTH TACTICAL IDEAS AS WELL AS A CHECKLIST. THE SECOND MESSAGE WHICH WE WILL SEND SEVERAL DAYS BEFORE THE VISIT WILL GIVE OUR SENSE OF THE ATMOSPHERE INCLUDING CUEAUSESCU'S OWN SITUATION.
2. IN TERMS OF OUR OWN INTERESTS, WE SEE PRESIDENT'S VISIT AS TIMELY REAFFIRMATION OF US SUPPORT FOR CONTINUING ROMANIAN EFFORTS AT ENLARGING SCOPE OF INDEPENDENCE WITHOUT ENCHANCING PROSPECTS FOR SOVIET INTERVENTION.PARTICULARLY IF THE TRADE AGREEMENT HAS PASSED CONGRESS, THE VISIT CAN GIVE A SIGNIFICANT PUSH TO SUBSTANTIALLY GREATER US TRADE. THIRDLY, DISCUSSIONS COULD OFFER OPPORTUNITIES FOR MITIGATING CEAUSESCU'S RESTRICTIVE APPROACH THIS PAST YEAR TOWARD FACILITIES FOR FOREIGN BUSINESS, AND TOWARD SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL EXCHANGES.
3. WE WILL DEAL MORE WITH CEAUSESCU'S VIEWPOINT IN OUR SECOND MESSAGE. IN THIS TELEGRAM, WE NOTE:

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 BUCAR 03500 01 OF 02 231906Z

A. CONTINUING ROMANIAN DESIRE TO EMPHASIZE GOOD RELATIONS
WITH A BIG POWER WHICH IS ALSO MAJOR POWER OF CAPITALIST WORLD;

B. HOPES FOR MAJOR EXPANSION OF ROMANIAN EXPORTS;

C. CONSTANT ASPIRATIONS TO BE USEFUL MIDDLEMAN;

D. RELUCTANCE TO RELAX INTERNAL CONSTRAINTS UNLESS
CLEAR OVERALL FOREIGN AFFAIRS ADVANTAGE OBTAINED.

BILATERAL RELATIONS

4. FLOOD. PRESIDENT SHOULD EXPRESS COMPASSION AND OFFER SPECIFIC
U.S. AID. (OR, IF AID ALREADY ANNOUNCED, EXPRESS HOPE IT
WILL HELP EASE SUFFERING AND SPEED ECONOMIC RECOVERY.)

5. TRADE AGREEMENT AND EMIGRATION. IF US-ROMANIAN TRADE
AGREEMENT PASSED OR PASSAGE ASSURED BEFORE VISIT PRESI-
DENT SHOULD EXPRESS GRATIFICATION THAT CEAUSESCU'S STATES-
MANLIKE HANDLING OF HUMANITARIAN ISSUES HELPED ASSURE
PASSAGE. HE SHOULD MAKE POINT THAT WE HOPE FOR CONSIS-
TENTLY SYMPATHETIC ROMANIAN APPROACH TO THIS MATTER OVER
LONG TERM SO AS TO AVOID TROUBLE WHEN TRADE AGREEMENT
AGAIN COMES UNDER CONGRESSIONAL REVIEW.

6. OTHER ECONOMIC ISSUES:

A. U.S. GOALS: IN LIGHT OF SECRETARY'S TALKS HERE IN
NOVEMBER AND RATHER BLEAK OUTLOOK FOR ROMANIAN ACCESS TO
U.S. ECONOMIC BENEFITS THAT PREVAILED DURING JUNE VISIT
TO WASHINGTON, WE SUGGEST PRESIDENT SHOULD TAKE THE LEAD
IN CONFIRMING (A) RESUMPTION OF EX/IM CREDITS, (B)
WILLINGNESS TO PROCEED WITH NEGOTIATION OF ECONOMIC
COOPERATION AGREEMENT, AND (C) EXTENSION OF GENERALIZED
PREFERENCES WHEN INTERNATIONAL TRADE COMMISSION COMPLETES
ITS CURRENTLY STUDY. WE SHOULD AFFIRM OUR SUPPORT FOR
AN AGRICULTURAL AGREEMENT WHICH WOULD BE FULLY RECIPRO-
CAL. WE SHOULD ALSO IMPRESS UPON CEAUSESCU LIMITS OF
U.S. GOVERNMENT SUPPORT FOR ROMANIAN ECONOMY, URGING
HIM TO FOCUS ROMANIAN EFFORTS ON ENLISTING US PRIVATE
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 BUCAR 03500 01 OF 02 231906Z

SECTOR INTEREST.

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 01 BUCAR 03500 02 OF 02 232238Z

63

ACTION SS-25

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3754

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BUCHAREST 3500

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7. ENERGY COOPERATION. CEAUSESCU MAY RAISE ROMANIA'S DESIRE FOR A BILATERAL COOPERATION AGREEMENT IN ENERGY R&D, INCLUDING NUCLEAR. THIS THEME HAS BEEN RAISED PREVIOUSLY BY ION URSU, HEAD OF THE ROMANIAN NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY. ERDA IS CURRENTLY AWAITING A MORE DETAILED ROMANIAN PROPOSAL.

8. SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL EXCHANGES. THESE EXCHANGES CONTINUE TO OFFER OPPORTUNITIES FOR MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL ACTIVITIES. ROMANIAN PERFORMANCE FOR LAST YEAR HAS BEEN DISAPPOINTING, HOWEVER, WITH COOPERATIVE SCIENTIFIC PROGRAMS HELD UP, AND STUDENTS AND PROFESSORS ON OTHER EXCHANGES ARRIVING VERY LATE IF AT ALL. CONSEQUENTLY, ROMANIAN REPUTATION HAS BECOME VERY BAD IN US SCIENTIFIC AND ACADEMIC CIRCLES. DELAYS HAVE NOW BEGUN TO AFFECT PLACEMENT OF AMERICAN RESEARCHERS HERE. WE WOULD HOPE PRESIDENT COULD MAKE THE POINT THERE IS NO USE TALKING IN COMMUNIQUE ABOUT EXPANDING EXCHANGES IF ROMANIA SIDE DOESN'T ATTACH ENOUGH PRIORITY TO EXISTING ONES TO LET THEM FUNCTION WELL. HEALTH, EDUCATION, AGRICULTURE, ENERGY, ENVIRONMENT, CREATIVE ARTS ALL HAVE POSSIBILITIES FOR SOME MUTUAL BENEFIT, BUT CURRENT ROMANIAN RESTRICTIONS ARE MAJOR OBSTACLE. PRESIDENT MIGHT NOTE HIS PLEASURE IN MEETING WITH THE ROMANIAN AMBASSADORS OF FRIENDSHIP MUSICAL GROUP AT THE WHITE HOUSE THIS SPRING AND EXPRESS HIS APPROVAL OF SUCH ACTIVITIES, ENDORSING BOTH THE OFFICIAL CULTURAL EXCHANGE PROGRAM AND SUCH "PRIVATE" EFFORTS. PRESIDENT MIGHT POINT TO THE DESIRABILITY OF EXPANDED

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 BUCAR 03500 02 OF 02 232238Z

TRAVEL ON BOTH SIDES BY BOTH YOUNG AND OLD POLITICAL

LEADERS, SUGGESTING THAT CEAUSESCU GIVE SOME OF HIS CHIEF DEPUTIES A FEW WEEKS OFF FOR TRAVEL IN THE U.S., INCLUDING A STOP AT THE WHITE HOUSE.

9. ROMANIAN PURCHASE OF U.S. MILITARY EQUIPMENT. CEAUSESCU MAY RAISE GOR REQUEST TO PURCHASE U.S. MILITARY EQUIPMENT, WHICH HAS BEEN RAISED AT OTHER LEVELS IN LOW KEY WAY. ASIDE FROM THE QUESTIONS OF UTILITY FROM OUR STANDPOINT OF SUCH SALES, IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO TRY TO DISCOVER WHETHER CEAUSESCU HAS CAREFULLY GAUGED ANTICIPATED SOVIET REACTION SHOULD SUCH A DEAL BE CONSUMMATED, AND WHAT TRUE ROMANIAN MOTIVES ARE IN PURSUING THIS REQUEST.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

10. CSCE. EVEN ASSUMING THAT THE PRESIDENT AND CEAUSESCU WILL NOT HAVE TALKED AT HELSINKI BUT ASSUMING ALSO EACH WILL HAVE HEARD THE OTHERS' REMARKS, CEAUSESCU IS NOT LIKELY TO DEVOTE MUCH TIME TO THE PAST.

11. DISARMAMENT. THIS IS A THEME CEAUSESCU MENTIONED IN WASHINGTON HE WANTED TO DISCUSS FURTHER AND WHERE HE WILL BE PRESSING THE PRESIDENT FOR SOME SIGN THE U.S. WANTS TO REDUCE ARMS EXPENDITURES (AND THEREBY MAKE RESOURCES AVAILABLE FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT) AND NOT JUST WHAT HE CALLS "TALK" ABOUT DISARMAMENT. THE PRESIDENT COULD USEFULLY SEE HOW ROMANIAN THINKING DIFFERS FROM THE EXPECTED SOVIET PUSH FOR A WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE.

12. BALKANS. IN EITHER CSCE OR DISARMAMENT CONTEXT, CEAUSESCU MAY SOLICIT US SUPPORT IN ROMANIAN CAMPAIGN TO DEVELOP BALKAN ZONE OF PEACE. (AT TIMES ROMANIANS HAVE TALKED ABOUT BALKAN CONFERENCE A LA CSCE WHERE US WOULD BE INVITED). IN TURN, A BALKAN CONTEXT AND IN VIEW OF PRESIDENT'S STOP IN BELGRADE, AND GOOD ROMANIAN/YUGOSLAV RELATIONS, CEAUSESCU MIGHT TOUCH ON ROMANIAN CONCERNS FOR POST-TITO ERA.

13. CYPRUS. IN LIGHT OF CONTINUING ROMANIAN CONCERNS OVER CYPRUS SITUATION AND OF CONTROVERSY IN THE US OVER RESUMPTION OF MILITARY AID TO TURKEY, CEAUSESCU WILL BE CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 BUCAR 03500 02 OF 02 232238Z

INTERESTED IN BOTH US ASSESSMENT OF CYPRUS SITUATION AS WELL AS INDICATION OF WHAT ROLE US EXPECTS TO PLAY IN HELPING REACH A SETTLEMENT.

14. MIDDLE EAST. CEAUSESCU WOULD OBVIOUSLY APPRECIATE A DETAILED BRIEFING ON WHERE MATTERS STAND FROM OUR POINT OF VIEW. HE WILL ALSO PUSH THE PLO CASE AGAIN. AS IN THE PAST, HE WILL HINT BROADLY THAT ROMANIA COULD PLAY

A USEFUL ROLE IN A RESUMED GENEVA CONFERENCE.

15. RUSSIA AND CHINA. CEAUSESCU'S VIEWS COULD BE SOLICITED ON OUR DETENTE POLICIES WITH THE TWO MAJOR COMMUNIST POWERS AS WELL AS HIS APPRECIATION OF THEIR CURRENT AIMS. HE SHOULD BE REASSURED THAT OUR DEALINGS WITH THE SOVIETS WILL NEVER BE AT THE EXPENSE OF SMALLER COUNTRIES. HE IN TURN WILL BE INTERESTED IN THE PRESIDENT'S VIEWS OF SOVIET AND CHINESE POLICIES.

16. NORTH KOREA. CEAUSESCU HAS SOUGHT SEVERAL TIMES BEFORE TO INTEREST US IN DEALING WITH NORTH KOREA AND WILL DRAW ON KIM IL SUNG'S VISIT AND UNGA KOREAN ITEM DISCUSSION TO RETURN TO THIS THEME.

17. THIRD WORLD. ROMANIA HAS BECOME INCREASINGLY MORE AGGRESSIVE IN CHAMPIONING SUCH THIRD WORLD/NON-ALIGNED PROGRAMS AS THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER, SENSING A SHIFT IN THE BALANCE OF POWER TOWARD THE STATES REPRESENTED BY THE GROUP OF 77. IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO SET OUT OUR VIEWS ON THIS THEME, INCLUDING THE ROLE OF THE UN, IN AN ATTEMPT TO INFLUENCE ROMANIA TO REMAIN MORE MODERATE AND TO CONTINUE IN THE ROLE OF BRIDGE AND MEDIATOR. CEAUSESCU CAN BE EXPECTED TO RESPOND FORCEFULLY, BUT THE DISCUSSION CAN BE USEFUL IF FOCUSED ON THE PRACTICAL ASPECTS OF HOW BEST TO ACHIEVE RESULTS.

18. SPAIN. CEAUSESCU'S RAISING OF SPANISH SITUATION IN WASHINGTON AS TOPIC FOR FUTURE DISCUSSION REFLECTS HIS INTEREST BOTH IN A NEW FIELD FOR ACTING AS AN INTERNATIONAL GO-BETWEEN AND IN SUPPORTING THOSE COMMUNIST PARTIES WHICH ARE NOT CLOSE MOSCOW ALLIES. (ROMANIAN ATTITUDES IN PORTUGUESE SITUATION HAVE BEEN MODERATE AND CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 04 BUCAR 03500 02 OF 02 232238Z

IN FACT INDICATED LACK OF SYMPATHY FOR MOSCOW-CONTROLLED RCP.)
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